

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 IO-13 ISO-00 AF-08 ARA-06

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6131

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY ROME

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PARM, CCD

SUBJECT: CCD: ASSESSMENT OF THIRD ROUND OF INFORMAL MEETINGS ON

SOVIET PROPOSAL ON NEW MASS DESTRUCTION WEAPONS (MDW)

1. INFORMAL CCD MEETINGS WITH EXPERTS ON MDW WERE HELD MARCH 14 THROUGH 17, 1977. THIS WAS THE THIRD ROUND OF INFORMAL CCD MEETINGS ON THE SUBJECT, WITH ROUNDS ONE AND TWO HAVING BEEN HELD IN 1976.

2. MAIN CARRY-OVER PROBLEM FROM PRIOR MEETINGS WAS

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DOUBTS ABOUT UNDERSTANDINGS OF COVERAGE OF EXISTING AGREEMENTS,

PARTICULARLY BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION, THAT

HAD BEEN RAISED BY REPRESENTATIVES AND EXPERTS OF USSR

AND SEVERAL EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. A PRIME US

OBJECTIVE THIS SESSION WAS TO ACCOMPLISH SATISFACTORY

CLARIFICATION OF THIS MATTER. THAT WAS DONE, AND USSR AND

EASTERN EUROPEAN OFFENDERS MADE CLEAR AND EXPLICIT STATEMENTS

AFFIRMING SCOPE OF COVERAGE OF BW CONVENTION AND A PROSPECTIVE
CW CONVENTION.

3. OBJECTIVE TAKEN UP BY US DELEGATION IN AUGUST 1976
DISCUSSIONS WAS TO ENCOURAGE ACCEPTANCE OF 1948 UNITED NATIONS
DEFINITION OF NDW AS WORKING BASIS FOR DISCUSSION. THIS EFFORT
TOOK HOLD RATHER WELL THIS SESSION. WESTERN GROUP ENDORSED
THIS APPROACH AND SPEAKERS FROM CANADA, FRG, ITALY, SWEDEN,
UK EXPLICITLY ADVOCATED USE OF 1948 DEFINITION. MAIN PURPOSE
OF THIS EFFORT HAS BEEN TO IMPOSE ON DISCUSSIONS THE
COMPARABILITY STANDARD SET FORTH IN 1948 AS BASIS FOR IDENTIFY-
ING ANY NEW CANDIDATE WEAPON TYPE AS A WEAPON OF MASS
DESTRUCTION, I.E., THAT IT MUST "HAVE CHARACTERISTICS COMPARABLE
IN DESTRUCTIVE EFFECT TO THOSE OF ATOMIC EXPLOSIVE WEAPONS,
RADIOACTIVE MATERIAL WEAPONS, LETHAL CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL
WEAPONS". THIS COMPARABILITY STANDARD SETS A REASONABLE
BASIS FOR REJECTING SOVIET SUGGESTIONS THAT A MIXED BAG OF
WEAPON POSSIBILITIES BE ANNOTED AS WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.
COUNTRIES MENTIONED ABOVE WHO NOW ADVOCATE USE OF 1948
DEFINITION ALSO EXPLICITLY REJECT THE MDW-CANDIDATE WEAPON
POSSIBILITIES PROPOSED BY USSR ON THE SPECIFIC GROUNDS OF
NON-COMPARABILITY WITH RECOGNIZED MDW CATEGORIES. USSR
STATEMENTS HAVE ENDORSED THIS COMPARABILITY STANDARD,
INCLUDING PREPARED STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR
LIKHTACHEV; HOWEVER, THEY NOW CLAIM COMPARABILITY FOR THEIR
MDW-CANDIDATE SYSTEMS (SEE PARA 6 BELOW).

4. SOVIET REAFFIRMATION OF SCOPE OF COVERAGE OF EXISTING
AGREEMENTS, ESPECIALLY BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION, HAS
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HAD THE EFFECT OF REMOVING FROM THE DISCUSSION A LARGE
CHUNK OF THE MORE BIZARRE SUBJECT MATTER THAT FIGURED
HEAVILY IN THE SESSION OF AUGUST 1976. ACCORDINGLY, THIS
TIME, THERE WAS VERY MUCH LESS RHETORIC ABOUT CAUSING
PSYCHIC DISORDERS AND STRIKING AT GONADS. THE COSMIC RANGE
OF MDW POSSIBILITIES BASED ON ALL OF PHYSICS SUGGESTED IN
EARLY SOVIET PRESENTATIONS ALSO SHRIVELLED UP ON AFFIRMATION
OF THE COVERAGE OF THE ENMOD CONVENTION. THE SET OF PROPOSED
NEW MDW-CANDIDATE SYSTEMS WAS REDUCED BY USSR THIS TIME TO
FIVE MORE OR LESS SPECIFIC TYPES. DISCUSSED IN PARAS 6
THROUGH 9 BELOW. THE PROBLEM OF DOUBTS BEING RAISED ABOUT
COVERAGE OF EXISTING OR PROSPECTIVE AGREEMENTS HAS NOT YET,
HOWEVER, BEEN ENTIRELY PUT DOWN -- SEE PARA 11 BELOW.

5. PREVIOUS SOVIET PRESENTATION INCLUDED ELABORATE TEXTS
ON DEFINITION OF NDW WHICH WERE NOT ONLY COMPLEX AND
CONVOLUTED BUT ALSO WOULD SUPPORT CHARACTERIZING VIRTUALLY
ANYTHING (INCLUDING THE JAW-BONE OF AN ASS) AS A WEAPON OF
MASS DESTRUCTION. THEY DID NOT PURSUE THIS LINE FURTHER

THIS SESSION. ALSO, DURING THE LAST MEETING (MARCH 17),R
SOVIET EXPERT IN A PREPARED STATEMENT SAID THAT PRIOR TEXTS
AND STATEMENTS ON DEFINITION HAD BEEN PUT FORWARD ONLY TO
ASSIST DISCUSSION AND WAS NOT INTENDED TO BE DEVELOPED INTO
"JURICAL LANGUAGE" FOR AN AGREEMENT. ALSO ON MARCH 17,
INDIAN REP TOOK NOTE OF USSR SEEMING ENDORSEMENT OF
COMPARABILITY STANDARD IN 1948 DEFINITION BUT POINTED OUT
THAT USSR HAD VOTED AGAINST THE UN RESOLUTION THAT PROMULGATED
THAT DEFINITION. HE ASKED WHAT PRESENT USSR POSITION WAS
ON THIS MATTER.LIKHATCHEV DID NOT REPLY.

6. AS MATTERS NOW STAND, USSR PROPOSES: -. THAT THERE BE
A TREATY BANNING ALL NEW TYPES AND STSTEMS OF MDW, AND B. THAT
THE FLOWING CLAIMED NEW TYPES OF SYSTEMS BE INCLUDED IN THAT
BAN:.

A. SYSTEMS THAT GENERATE AND PROPAGATE LOW-FREQUENCY
ACOUSTIC WAVES (INFRA-SOUND) TO KILL, INJURE OR DISTURB HUMAN
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BEINGS AND DAMAGE BUILDINGS, ETC.

B. SYSTEMS THAT GENERATE AND PROPAGATE REAIO-FREQUENCY
WAVES (INCLUDING MICROWAVE REDIATION) TO KILL, INJURE
OR DISTURB HUMAN BEINGS.

C. FUEL/AIR EXPLOSIVES.

D. NUCLEAR WEAPONS BASED ON FISSIONABLE ELEMENTS
ATOMICALLY HEAVIER THAT URANIUM 235 AND PLUTONIUM 239

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E. USE, FOR DELIVERY OF MDW TO TARGETS ON THE SURFACE OF THE EARTH, OF "AEROSPACE" VEHICLES HAVING CHARACTERISTICS COMBINING THOSE OF AIRCRAFT AND SPACECRAFT OR BALLISTIC MISSILES, E.G. SPACE SHUTTLE.

7. STATEMENTS BY SPEAKERS FOR US (AND OTHERS, CONCERNING THE FIRST FOUR) OF THE FIVE MDW CANDIDATES ABOVE, SAID ESSENTIALLY THE FOLLOWING:

-- A B AND C ARE NOT MDW AND DO NOT COME CLOSE TO SATISFYING THE COMPARABILITY STANDARD OF THE 1948 DEFINITION. CONCERNING C, IT WAS ALSO POINTED OUT THAT FUEL/AIR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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EXPLOSIVES ARE EXPLICITLY IDENTIFIED AS CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS IN LAWS-OF-WAR DELIBERATIONS.

D WOULD, IF REALIZED, BE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND SHOULD BE GOVERNED ACCORDINGLY.

E. IS A DELIVERY -SYSTEM, AND THEREFORE COULD APPROPRIATELY BE RAISED IN OTHER FORUMS DEALING WITH SUCH QUESTIONS (INTENDING INDIRECTLY TO CONVEY THE SUGGESTION THAT THIS IS AN ISSUE WHICH SHOULD BE ADDRESSED, IF AT ALL, IN SALT). SEE PARA 10 BELOW CONCERNING OTHER ASPECTS OF THIS ITEM.

8. SOVIET EXPERT REPLIED TO POINTS IN PARA 7, ABOVE, AS A B AND C ARE MDW; HE HAD EXPLAINED WHY; THOSE WHO DENY IT HAVE NOT EXPLAINED THEIR VIEW.

D. SHOULD BE PLACED UNDER A SEPARATE BAN, NOT SUBJECTED TO THE SMAE AGREEMENTS THAT NOW EXIST OR MAY BE DEVELOPED COVERING NUCLEAR WEAPONS GENERALLY.

E. SHOULD BE SUBJECT TO A BAN DEVELOPED IN CCD, NOT DEALT WITH IN SOME OTHER FORUM CONCERNING DELIVERY VEHICLES.

9. SOVIET EXPERT, WITH SOME SUPPORT FROM THE POLISH EXPERT CONCERNING INFRA-SOUND, CLAIMED SYSTEMS A, B, AND C ABOVE COULD HAVE DESTRUCTIVE EFFECTS COMPARABLE TO THOSE OF

CURRENTLY-RECOGNIZED MDW BUT DID NOT SUPPORT THIS CLAIM
BEYOND SAYING, IN ESSENCE, THAT THEY CAN KILL PEOPLE.

10. IN DISCUSSING "AEROSPACE" VEHICLES AS A CLASS, OF WHICH
SPACE SHUTTLE IS THE CURRENT ACTUAL MEMBER OF THAT CLASS,
SOVIET EXPERT STATED THAT IT COULD BE USED TO: A. PLACE MDW
IN ORBIT, OR B. DELIVER MDW TO SURFACE TARGET. WHEN IT WAS
POINTED OUT THAT A. IS KIND OF USJBECT APPROPRIATE TO OTHER FORUMS
CONCERNED WITH DELIVERY VEHICLES, AND ARGUED SPECIFICALLY
FOR DEVELOPMENT OF A BAN IN CCD. HUNGARIAN EXPERT (ESS
GENEVA 2129) PURSUED SUBJECT FURTHER. HE ARGUED THAT SPACE
SHUTTLE, AS AN AERODYNAMIC VEHICLE, CAN OPERATE IN ALTITUDE
RANGE FROM 30/40 KILOMETERS TO ABOUT 160 KILOMETERS WITHOUT
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EXECUTING ORBITAL FLIGHT. THIS MODE OF OPERATION OF AN MDW
CARRIER, HE SIAD (PROBABLY RIGHTLY), WOULD NOT BE PROHIBITED
BY OUTER SPACE TREATY. HE THEN WENT ON TO ARUGE THAT AIR
DEFENSES CANNOT HANDLE THIS FLIGHT REGIME AND THAT AMB
DEFENSES WERE LIMITED BY ABM TREATY: THEREFORE, A NEW KIND
OF DEFENSE WOULD NEED TO BE SOUGHT, TOUCHING OFF A NEW ARMS
RACE. REFERENCE TO ABM TREATY IN THIS CONTEXT IS
AMBIGUOUS AT BEST. LITERAL DEVELOPMENT OF DEFENSE SYSTEM
TO BE EFFECTIVE AGAINST SPACE SHUTTLE AT ALTITUDES UP TO
160 KILOMETERS PROBABLY WOULD BE VERY MESSY WITH RESPECT
TO ABM TREATY.

1. GDR EXPERT PICKED UP A LINE THAT HAD BEEN OPENED BY
USSR IN AUGUST 1976 SESSION. HE TALKED AT SOME LENGTH
ABOUT "COMBINATION" WEAPONS IN WHICH A CHEMICAL OR BIOLOGICAL
AGENT WOULD BY ITSELF HAVE A MILD EFFECT, UBT WOULD SENSITIZE
THE ORGANISM TO REACT ADVERSELY TO PHYSICAL STIMULI (E.G.
LOUDNOISES, FLASHING LIGHTS) WITH PERHAPS LETHAL EFFECT.
SUCH WEAPONS, HE SAID, WOULD CONSTITUTE A NEW MDW AND WOULD
NOT COME WITHIN THE COVERAGE OF THE BW CONVENTION OF A CW
CONVENTION. HIS NET CONSLUSION IS THAT AGREEMENTS COVERING
INDIVIDUAL TYPES OF EEAPONS (E.G., CHEMICAL OR BIOLOGICAL)
ARE NOT ENOUGH, AND AN UMBRELLA LIKE THAT PROPOSED BY USSR
IS NEEDED. THIS IS A SORT OF VIGOROUS EXTENSION OF THE
QUESTIONS REISED BEFORE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BIOLOGICAL
WEAPONS CONVENTION AS TO WHETHER SUCH A SINGLE-TYPE AGREEMENT
MIGHT WEAKEN THE GENEVA PROTOCOL OF 1925. IT IS NOT CLEAR
WHETHER THIS IS A SERIOUS CONCEPTUAL PROBLEM OR JUST ANOTHER
INDICATOR OF NEED FOR CAREFUL DRAFTING OF -- FOR EXAMPLE --
A NEW CW AGREEMENT.

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12. BULGARIAN EXPERT SPOKE ON RADIOLOGICAL WEAPONS AND
ADVOCATED THEIR PROHIBITION WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF SIVIET MDW
PRPOOSAL. INDIAN REP ASKED WHAT US POSITION WAS ON
RW IN CONTEXT OF MDW. US REP STATED THAT, ON BASIS OF
1948 DEFINITION, REDILOGICAL WEAPONS ARE WEAPONS OF MASS
DESTRUCTION. HE FURTHER SAID THAT CCD MAY WISH TO TAKE UP
SUBJECT OF RW AGINN AT A TIME CONSISTENT WITH CCD PRIORITIES.
POLISH EXPERT, IN A BURST OF CREAPIVITY, SUGGESTED THAT MEANING
OF TERM RADIOLOGICAL WEAPONS BE EXTENDED TO INCLUDE ACOUSTIC
WAVES. FORTUNATELY, 1948 DEFINITION REFERS TO REDILOGICAL
WEAPONS BY USE OF TERM "RADIOACTIVE MATERIALS
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WEAPONS" WHICH IS NOT AMENABLE TO BEING CONSTRUED, EVEN FROM
A VERY LIBERAL STANDPOINT, AS INCLUDING ACOUSTIC WAVES.

13. IN STATEMENT ON AUGUST 12,1976, (GENEVA 6524 OF

AGU 13,1976) IN ARGUING PROBABLE NEED FOR APPROACHING ANY AGREEMENTS ON NEW TYPES OF SYSTEMS ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS, US EXPERT MENTIONED NEED TO DEAL APPROPRIATELY WITH VERIFICATION IN MDW DISCUSSIONS. US DEL HAS REFRAINED FROM ANY FURTHER REFERENCE TO VERIFICATION IN ORDER TO AVOID GIVING ANY IMPLICATION THAT SOVIET PROPOSAL IS OTHERWISE ACCEPTABLE. FURTHER, EXERCISING SUBJECT OF VERIFICATION IN THE ABSTRACT COULD ONLY HAVE IRRITATED SOVIETS ANYWAY.

14. IN STATEMENTS IN AUGUST 1976 AND EARLIER, SOVIETS REFERRED -- WITH NO SPECIAL EMPHASIS -- TO DESIRABILITY OF REVIEW OF SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE TO SEEK OUT AT INCIPIENT STAGE POTENTIALITIES FOR NEW MDW. THIS NOTION LAY DORMANT UNTIL DISCUSSIONS THIS TIME, WHEN IT WAS SET IN MOTION -- WITHOUT PRIOR MENTION TO US OR WESTERN GROUP -- BY UK EXPERT (GARNETT) IN HIS FIRST STATEMENT. HIS WARM REFERENCE TO SUCH A SCHEME SEEMED TO APPEAL TO CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVE AND (PERHAPS ONLY INITIALLY). TRADELEGATION. SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION IN WESTERN GROUP (GENEVA 2095), WITH HELP OF CANADIAN AND NETHERLANDS EXPERTS, SUBSTANTIALLY LOWERED ZEAL FOR INTERNATIONAL LITERATURE REVIEW ARRANGEMENT, BUT DID NOT ENTIRELY SET IT ASIDE. US EXPERT AGREED TO, AND DID, INCLUDE IN STATEMENT REMARKS ABOUT NEED FOR VIGILANCE WITH RESPECT TO EMERGENT MDW POSSIBILITIES AND AT SOME DISTANCE IN STATEMENT, ALSO MENTIONED AVAILABILITY OF SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE AS A HELP IN PERCEIVING WHAT MAY BE IN PROSPECT. IN RECIPROCATION, UK AND CANADIAN SPEAKERS ALTHOUGH PRIVATELY STILL EXPRESSING A BENT IN THAT DIRECTION, REFRAINED FROM ADVOCACY OF ANY SPECIFIC CCD ACTION (E.G., ESTABLISHMENT OF EXPERTS GROUP TO REVIEW PERIODICALLY SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE FOR SIGNS OF MDW POTENTIALITIES). IN WESTERN GROUP (AND PERHAPS MORE WIDELY) THERE WAS A VIEW THAT USSR SHOULD LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BE OFFERED SOME "WAY OUT" OF THEIR POSITION ON MDW AND THAT WAY OUT SHOULD INVOLVE REALIZATION OF SOMETHING SPECIFIC AND/OR FORMAL IN CCD. THAT VIEW WAS ALMOST SURELY PART OF BASIS FOR EXPRESSIONS FROM CANADA, NETHERLANDS AND UK SUMMARIZED ABOVE, AND OF OTHER COUNTRIES NET OUTCOME OF LAST WESTERN GROUP MEETING WAS TO DECIDE TO WAIT AND SEE WHAT IS DONE NEXT BY USSR RATHER THAN TRY TO FEND OFF USSR ADVOCACY OF NEW MDW TREATY BY OFFERING THEM INSTEAD A CCD ARRANGEMENT OF PERIODIC REVIEW OF SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE. AS OF NOW, THE "WAIT AND SEE" VIEW HAS PREVAILED AND NO "WAY OUT" HAS BEEN SUGGESTED TO USSR.

15. NO SUGGESTIONS WERE MADE FOR FURTHER ROUNDS ON THIS SUBJECT; HOWEVER, INDIAN REP SAID HE SAW A NEED FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION. USSR REP SAID HE WOULD HAVE MORE TO SAY LATER.

16. THIS TIME, THERE WERE NO US/USSR BILATERAL MEETINGS
AND NONE WERE PROPOSED.

17. AS OF THE END OF THIS FOUND STATUS IS AS FOLLOWS:

A. USSR STILL ADVOCATES THEIR PROPOSAL;
B. THE WESTERN GROUP WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE SUBJECT GO
AWAY BUT DOUBT THAT IT WILL;
C. EASTERN EUROPEANS ARE DOING WHAT IS EXPECTED OF THEM;
D. INDIA AND A FEW OTHERS SAY THEY LIKE THE SOVIET PROPOSAL;
E. OTHER CCD PARTICIPANTS HAVE REMAINED SILENT;
F. DEFINITIONAL SUBJECT HAS ARRIVED AT A STAGE WHERE THERE
IS FAIRLY WIDE SUPPORT (COMPLETE IN WESTERN GROUP) FOR
CARRYING ON WITH THE 1948 UN DEFINITION OF MDW. SOVIETS HAVE
STAYED SILENT ON THIS, BUT HAVE UTILIZED PRINCIPLE OF
COMPARABILITY CONTAINED IN ABOVE DEFINITION.
G. FINALLY, ATTRITION IMPOSED ON USSR PROPOSAL HAD EFFECTIVELY
REDUCED THEM TO ARGUING WHAT THEY STARTED OUT WITH, I.E.,
THAT THE FUTURE IS UNCERTAIN AND THAT THE "BAD" PARTS
OF THAT FUTURE SHOULD BE PROHIBITED IN ADVANCE IN GENERAL
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TERMS. THEIR ATTEMPTS TO BE SPECIFIC AS TO DEFINITIONS OR
EXAMPLES OF NEW MDW HAVE NOT FLOURISHED.

18. IN EARLY STAGES LAST YEAR SOME DELEGATIONS CAME TO THE
TABLE WITH AN OPTIMISTIC VIEW THAT SOVIET PROPOSAL WAS A
PROMISING START ON DEVELOPMENT OF LIMITATIONS ON COMPETITION
IN QUALITATIVE ARMS ADVANCEMENT; HOWEVER, THE ABSURD
CHARACTER OF SO MUCH OF WHAT SOVIETS HAVE DONE IN "CLARIFYING"
THEIR PROPOSAL HAS DISCOURAGED MUCH OF THE ORIGINAL OPTIMISM.
THIS POINT WAS WELL STATED BY SWEDISH SPOKESMAN IN AUGUST
1976 AND QUALITY OF SOVIET PERFORMANCE HAS NOT IMPROVED.
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